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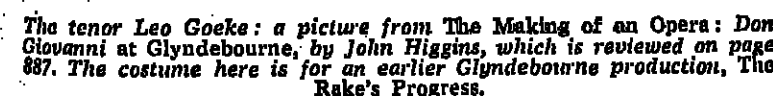
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The Lambeth Conferences;  
Evangelizing in Ireland  
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## Beware of heretics

By Brian Pullan

PAUL F. GRENDLER: The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605  
374pp. Guildford. Princeton University Press. £16.20.

Historians of Venice's religion divide quite sharply into two camps. Some see Venice as an exotic bloom, a flower in the wilderness of Counter-Reformation Italy, a last heroic defender of the sovereignty of the lay prince. From this position they can come perilously near to portraying Venice as a secular state for its time, "with long neutrality of state as at length (as it seems) almost slipped into a neutrality of religion". The words are those of Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Robert Cecil in 1603. Latterday Wottons can still credit the whole state with the outlook of its most famous spokesman, Paolo Sarpi, and see it forever trembling on the brink of a showdown with the Holy See.

Paul F. Grendler is of quite a different persuasion. With the most systematic study of the Venetian Inquisition yet undertaken by any scholar, he brings impressive reinforcement to the school of historians who see Venice as a confessional state with deep roots in orthodox Catholicism. Venice's permanent committee of public safety, the Council of Ten, brought spiritual matters well within its purview, and took the lead in putting down blasphemy and religious deviance at least as often as it responded to Roman nagging. *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605*, a solid, cautious, very thorough and generally convincing study devoted to proving that Venice and Rome were not perpetually set on a collision course; their relations fluctuated, responding not only to personalities, and temperaments, but to a much broader political situation, and the historian has to take the temperature every ten years or so.

Usefully, Professor Grendler has chosen to map out an especially sensitive area of Church-State relations, through which we can follow the interplay between economic interests and the demands of orthodoxy. Suffering heavy competition and publishing an increasingly large proportion of religious works, Venice's printing industry found itself in the later sixteenth century threatened by expanding indexes of prohibited books and by the exclusive privileges accorded to Roman firms by the papacy for the production of definitive editions of breviaries, offices, missals and Bibles. The state felt its sovereignty challenged by the demands, issued by papal printer-publishers and booksellers of Venice. The tribunal of the Holy Office, concerned *inter alia* with the censorship of books and manuscripts intended for publication and with the control of books imported to the city, was a kind of clearing-house in which attempts were made to reconcile the views of the papacy, the diocesan authorities, and the government.

This Inquisition was not a free-

standing institution. In the matter of censorship, the Venetian state seems to have enclosed it very neatly during the 1560s in its own all-embracing system of religious and political censorship, empowering it to grant or refuse certificates of orthodoxy on the strength of which a lay magistracy would subsequently take action. The Venetian Holy Office "neither just nor intelligent". But the state soon took alarm at the penetration of heresy into the patriciate, and apparently decided that the Inquisition was no bad thing after all.

Indeed, Professor Grendler argues that the Venetian state would support the Inquisition in general at times when there was an obvious threat of advancing heresy. Once this evaporated, as it appeared to have done by the 1590s, the government's enthusiasm waned and it became acutely jealous of its own jurisdiction. This is an important thesis, and the author is certainly right to maintain that the Venetian government feared heresy among its own subjects.

But one would welcome much fuller discussion of the reasons why it did so, and why at the same time it was confident of tolerating minorities of foreign heretics in its midst and stamping them down proselytizing. Tantalizingly, Professor Grendler's systematic inquiries stop

at 1605, on the eve of the famous Interdict imposed by Pope Paul V. Almost inevitably he leaves the impression that there was a permanent failure of religious censorship from that time onwards and a perpetual divorce between the state and the Counter-Reformation.

One must stop somewhere, and the documents have not been kind, since few trial records of any sort survive for the years 1592-1616. But in Sarpi's correspondence there are broad hints that the old censorship returned when the Interdict was over. On August 18, 1609, he wrote: "Let me tell you that although the yoke of the Church sits more lightly upon this state than on the rest of Italy, none the less the press is treated much as in other places. Nothing can be printed unless it is seen and approved by the Inquisition... When the disputes were settled we returned to the old rules." After all, unless Sarpi and his English admirers were merely hatching fantasies, there were then grounds for suspecting that heresy was once more invading the patriciate and breaking the bounds of the government had tried to impose on foreign communities in the city. If there was a return to strict censorship at this point, the fact would support, not confute the most interesting argument in Professor Grendler's stout and solid work.



Youth training in early seventeenth-century France: an engraving by Abraham Bosse (1602-76), whose work constitutes a panorama of social conditions in the country at that time. It is reproduced in *Tome I, Volume 2 of the Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, edited by E. Le Roy Ladurie and Michel Morineau (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France).

## Held in fee

By F. R. H. Du Boulay

JOHN CRITCHLEY: Feudalism  
210pp. George Allen and Unwin. £6.95.

Anyone who decides to write about an abstract term has the choice of explaining what he thinks it means or of describing what other people have meant by it. Of course the two tasks can be combined, but if they are confused so too will the reader be. John Critchley starts from the acceptable proposition that the term "feudalism" has for a long time had many different meanings attached to it, and that it would be profitable to show what kinds of society people have called feudal, and why. Yet the book has really been given its structure in order to show what the author thinks are the characteristics of feudalism. So the result is not a history of the word "feudalism", nor yet a historical analysis of a certain kind of socio-economic structure, but an immensely wide-ranging survey through space and time in search of apparent likenesses in pre-industrial societies,

some of which are allowed to be called feudal and others not.

At worst, undergarments of the word are the title is the feudalism, *Feudalism*, *Lehnrecht* to denote the land-tenure goes back to the twelfth century, and Marx and Engels the most systematic explication of the term is given by E. J. Hobsbawm, 1954. It has become a term of abuse in languages. Before Marx and Engels employed to describe human relationships, it was used to describe the relationship of lord and vassal, but it was not only according to the language and era, Mr Critchley's heavy and valuable task is to show that the word is a social likeness, but it is a decision whether or not it is a feudalism.

In the six chapters which form the main part of the book, the author discusses the characteristics of feudalism as it is understood in the past, and in the present. He starts with the medieval period, and then moves on to the modern period, where the word is used to describe the relationship of lord and vassal, and the relationship of lord and vassal. He then moves on to the modern period, where the word is used to describe the relationship of lord and vassal, and the relationship of lord and vassal.

Using the Italian Book of the Sun from the late twelfth century, his prime exemplar, he shows how English historians have used the word with precision. The second is "Lords and Vassals", and again he dwells mainly on the European relationships but goes on to describe non-European ones which are similar on the surface. Third, "Centralized Feudalism" deals with a central authority, and the fourth, "Decentralized Feudalism" deals with a decentralized authority. The fifth, "Feudalism and the State", deals with the relationship of feudalism to the state, and the sixth, "Feudalism and the Church", deals with the relationship of feudalism to the church.

The last three topics chosen from the late twelfth century, his prime exemplar, he shows how English historians have used the word with precision. The second is "Lords and Vassals", and again he dwells mainly on the European relationships but goes on to describe non-European ones which are similar on the surface. Third, "Centralized Feudalism" deals with a central authority, and the fourth, "Decentralized Feudalism" deals with a decentralized authority. The fifth, "Feudalism and the State", deals with the relationship of feudalism to the state, and the sixth, "Feudalism and the Church", deals with the relationship of feudalism to the church.

In a compressed review it is hard to be fair to the single and learning shown by the author. The book and its bibliography are a mine of information, even though sometimes the arguments are beyond intelligibility. It is a pity that the author has not collected 110 documents, from the first debate in Parliament in 1869 to a study of the consequences of Sarajevo on the thousands of Italians scattered through the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and has linked them with a clear, well-informed narrative of the intervening events, together with an appropriate political and sociological commentary. Most of the documents are newspaper articles from the Venetian region (whose contribution to emigration was the highest in Northern Italy), but there are also letters from individual emigrants and collective reports that constitute the most poignant elements in the book. The desperate cries of children exhausted by the heat of the glassworks are unforgettable. But inside the furnace I do not stand it any more.

## To convert the Catholics

By Oliver MacDonagh

DESMOND BOWEN: The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70. A Study of Protestant-Catholic Relations Between the Act of Union and Disestablishment  
426pp. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan. £10.

Why was the Irish Question the Pope one day, even if it were fought by potatoes twenty-four hours later? Desmond Bowen in *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70* provides part of the answer, as a study of the years 1822-69 and for that part of Ireland which constituted the present Republic.

Despite the date given in the title, the year 1822 is the book's effective starting place. Rightly, Archbishop Magee's celebrated charge of that year, announcing that we were hemmed in by two opposite descriptions of professing Christians; the one, possessing a church without what we can properly call a religion; and the other, possessing a religion, without what we can properly call a church, is taken as a significant event in the history of Irish sectarian conflict. Not for nothing did R. B. McDowell once describe Magee as the Rupert of the Irish Establishment. The charge of 1822 was rapidly succeeded by counter-charge and counter-counter-charge and nauséum.

However, Professor Bowen's second reason for choosing 1822 for special emphasis is curious. Although it was in that year that the Rev Alexander Dallas ("a type of Protestant Loyola", a veteran of Waterloo and that very un-English

though very Irish Anglican animal, a High Church evangelist) first turned his thoughts and preaching to Ireland, a quarter of a century was to pass before his Irish Church Mission Society was constituted. More curious still, another event which almost fell within 1822, the dinner party at Glencliff at which O'Connell and Shiel projected the Catholic Association—it was actually to take to the boards in April 1823—is silently passed over; and the Association itself is scarcely mentioned, let alone emphasized. Yet not only was the Association, to an small degree, a response to the Protestant "offensive" of the preceding half decade, but it was also to create, within six years, a Catholic popular-cultural front which was bound to contribute heavily to the protracted war of cultures and peoples in Ireland. Professor Bowen's primary interest appears to lie—at times—in the relations between the two Irish "nations", it seems strange that one of the happenings which most deeply and justifiably affected these should go virtually unmarked.

The incompleteness of this excursion into regions beyond the book's strict limits is a pity. It is a pity that the author's difficulties (such as they are) arise. Professor Bowen not only examines fruitfully Protestant missionary hopes and works in Ireland in the middle quarters of the nineteenth century, but he also looks at the other side of the coin, together new and as having a very close counterpart in contemporary Irish Catholicism. Neither proposition bears the weight here placed upon it. For example, in the first instance, Richard Woodford, Bishop of Cloyne, in his pamphlet of 1877, *The present state of the Church of Ireland*, fully anticipated the 1820s defence of that church as outpost of British civilization, maintainer of law in the localities and apostolic agency all in one.

Similarly, the Charter Schools (founded in 1741), which Woodford promoted and defended, anticipated many of the purposes of the Irish Church Mission Society and earlier proselytizing agencies. The Charter Schools, moreover, were an event of a century earlier, to solve the Irish question by Anglicizing, in term of habits, disposition and religion, the rising generations of the Irish poor. And, as the 1970s have again shown, mutual tolerance among the Irish religions—so marked apparently during the preceding thirty years—was skin-deep. Even were it true, as is claimed in the preface, that the "radical divisions of the two peoples which marked Irish society in the 1830s had not been found in the first two decades of the nineteenth century", they had been found with a vengeance only two years before.

But as a study of the thought and goals of the evangelicals in Ireland and their influence on the course of Irish history, this is a work of originality, full of scholarship and importance. Essentially it tells two stories. The first is that of indigenous evangelism in the Church of Ireland. With the "conversion" of Power to Peter Trench, Bishop of Elphin, and later Archbishop of Tuam, in 1816, we may fairly say that the Irish evangelicals formed a party within the church, with him as leader. It was a party committed to religious war. As Trench himself said in 1827, "We are proselytists. We plead guilty to this terrible and ungodly charge. Am I to be told that for fear of offending an unscriptural church I am to join in league with its priesthood... to withhold the Book of God from his condemned and perishing creatures?"

The Irish evangelical offensive achieved some remarkable "successes" in the late 1830s and early 1840s in what were later to be

designated the "congested districts", in particular, in the Protestant colonies which it set up on Achill and in the Dingle peninsula. But it had reached its peak by the great famine. Thereafter, the initiative passed to Exeter Hall and the leadership to Englishmen, like Dallas, who formed the new missionary societies. The Irish evangelical party, led after Trench's death by Robert Daly, Bishop of Cloyne, declined in numbers and vigour, while its role shrank to that of forming a minor auxiliary of the British religious-imperialist crusade of the mid-century.

In its heyday the native evangelical movement had been at once bizarre and telling in the shaping of Irish history. The practice of public disputation by divines produced a species of theological combat, by champions on behalf of religious tribes, reminiscent at once of fifth-century Byzantium and of the English Reformation. At the same time, the efforts to generate a New Reformation had profound effects upon the general politics of the 1820s and 1830s, which in Ireland as readily damned religious clothes. The second story, that of the English crusade of 1845-60, may well cap the first in both the bizarre and the significant. The opening play of the Dallasites in January 1846 was to post 90,000 copies of *A Voice from Heaven to Ireland*. "Respectable tradesmen and farmers" so synchronized that "their arrival among the people at the same time would seem miraculous". At the same time (if Professor Bowen is right—I am far from convinced that he is, but certainly there is a case to answer), the advances made in Connacht and Kerry, and even in the capital, by the English crusade in its first six or seven years so alarmed the papacy, the Irish Catholic hierarchy and above all Archbishop Cullen of Dublin, that it largely explains the new

## Meetings of the mitred

By Edward Norman

ALAN M. G. STEPHENSON: Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conference  
Foreword by Archbishop of Canterbury  
357pp. SPCK. £12.50.

Popular culture in England—whose assumptions about religion are surprisingly close, in their contemporary secularized form, to the attitudes of the traditional Britishman that preceded them—still regards the clergy as somehow gauche and comical. Bishops, however, are regarded as merely unnecessary. Perhaps the traditional prejudice may be dispelled by a proper examination of their influence in the Anglican communion, and especially as they are gathered together, as it were upon a heap, at the Lambeth Conference. These have now taken place every ten years since 1867. In his foreword to *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conference*, a book which he entitles all bishops to read in preparation for this year's enterprise, no more than the Archbishop of Canterbury encourages the belief that there shall be found a worthy substitute for the book. It gives, according to the Archbishop, "a whole" to "elicit deep gratitude to God for the enrichment which comes to us" from knowing the dignitaries of the church.

With what auspicious hopes, therefore, the reader turns to Dr Stephenson's pages. And he is disappointed. For the work is reassuring in one important particular: it sets the present leadership of the Church in the context of their predecessors. Nearly everyone outside the clerical atmosphere of the inner ecclesiastical circles has a high regard for the contemporary leaders as worthy, hard-working, liberal-minded and limited ability. They have, however, by comparison with the ecclesiastical figures of the past, been like pygmies in giants' seats. From Dr Stephenson's fulsome yet at times dispiritingly accurate descriptions of the leaders of the past hundred years it soon becomes apparent, to the discerning, that they were, exactly like the pre-

sented ones. We have, in fact, pygmies in pygmies' seats. It is a wholesome revelation, if not quite what Dr Stephenson intended to take out of the clerical skin.

The scale is generous. Starting with the foundation of Anglicanism—which he attributes not to Henry VIII's lusts but to Abraham—he sketches the background and consequences of each of the eleven Lambeth assemblies. The book is a masterpiece of which, in the last chapters, degenerate into lists of prominent Anglicans and their doings. But a lot of research has clearly been extremely valuable, and the reader will be foolish to be so turned off by the tacky overblownness of the foreword as to fail to recognize the genuinely good qualities of the book. Compared with the official preparatory documents for the present Lambeth Conference, published some months ago with the title *The Church and the World*—and which consists of trivial essays on inconsequential themes (with only one or two notable exceptions, one of which is by Henry Chadwick)—Dr Stephenson's book takes the absorbing interest of the sort which makes it almost desert island reading. The view of the bishops which emerges is unlikely to alter substantially the opinions enshrined within the popular culture.

The last conference, in 1968, was a particularly unhappy affair. Around them the assembled prelates should have heard the clattering disintegration of inherited values, including religious ones. But determined to be men of their times, and anyway deeply imbued with every kind of intellectual novelty picked up from the pundits, they demonstrated a sort of insensitive resilience. The conference began with high-minded outrage at the advice offered to help the bishops enjoy their stay in London. The Archbishop of Canterbury's press officer subsequently dismissed for official offence—had published an introductory booklet which recommended a lot of classy eating places which Dr Stephenson describes as "in rather a high price range". This was regarded as an affront to the starving and oppressed of the developing world. The then Archbishop, Dr Ramsey, wisely avoided voicing his own reservations; but to his brother of York, Dr Coggan, who denounced the booklet, exiting reaction on the radio. It was, altogether, a

revealing episode. The bishops of the Church of England are unconscious of their bourgeois tastes, and, like slaves, Lambeth and the 1968 conference are parties and receptions. But confront them with a bill and they run for their consciences. This year, no advice has been given about suitable restaurants, and they are, anyway, meeting in the less tempting aesthetics of the campus of the University of Kent.

The 1968 conference also considered the issue of the ordination of women, which, as Dr Stephenson observes, "was obviously bound to create great discussion and disagreement". On this controversial matter the conference was equivocal: declaring the arguments for and against a female priesthood to be "inconclusive". Now, ten years on, the major parts of the Anglican communion have already proceeded to "ordain" women, and it is the Church of England, together with some African provinces, which still hold the absorbing interest of the sort which makes it almost desert island reading. The view of the bishops which emerges is unlikely to alter substantially the opinions enshrined within the popular culture.

One of Dr Stephenson's most valuable sections concerns the theological upheaval of the past decade and a half. He takes a liberal line himself, smiling equally upon the just and the unjust. But here they all are in his pages, the fly-bush radicals with their "Death of God" tag of tricks, the extremely publicized doubts of the chairman of the Church of England's Doctrine Commission, and all the other frolicking excesses of the modern understanding of the spiritual mysteries. Dr Stephenson hopes that the 1978 conference will be able to reaffirm faith in Christ "and yet retain a critical faith in the face of an upsurge of fundamen-

talismen, counter-aggression, bitterness and chauvinism in Irish Catholicism in the 1830s—and by extension much of Ireland's history over the past century and a quarter. Mid-nineteenth-century nationalism or imperialism were meeting head-on in Ireland in their religious forms.

But the missionary foray soon faltered. In part, the explanation is that the English evangelicals who supplied its war chest were diverted by the Crimean adventure and the Indian Mutiny—the Christianization of Ireland as an object, just as the Protestantization of Ireland had succeeded the conversion of the Jews a generation earlier. Moreover, the Irish Church Missions suffered severely from the general and rapid decline in missionary belief—in Ireland, strangely enough, it was the Anglican Protestants, and not the half-starved peasant hordes, who were infused with and driven by millenarian ideas. Most important of all, the Irish Anglicans, who in general had looked askance at even their own evangelical wing, positively disliked the English intrusion. By now they had settled for *ever* in pace as the most comfortable form of surviving as a community in the new Ireland. In fact, although Professor Bowen tends to neglect this aspect of the question, the political defeat of 1828-29, the Whig attempt at supranational government in Ireland in 1835-39, the municipal reform act of 1840 and, not least, the failure of Peel's second administration to restore to the ascendancy their traditional monopoly of power and place, had undermined the old confidence and pretensions of the Church of Ireland well before the English crusade. Peaceful coexistence, socially, security economically, and the exploitation of their surviving advantages in local and national politics and administration, had replaced dreams of conquest, or even of the full retention of their old domination, in the minds of the great bulk of Irish Anglicans.

Yet these earlier dreams, their gradual and confused abandonment and their being caught up again in the surge of English evangelical expansion were of critical importance in the shaping of modern Ireland. Few of the North American and British historians who have turned their attention to Irish history recently are the sort of people to give much weight to the theological or ecclesiastical factors. As to the natives, it is *de rigueur* in both the nationalist and the Unionist traditions to minimize the simply sectarian elements in Irish conflict; while amnesia is a natural and useful inclination in the Anglo-Irish of the south. In these circumstances, Professor Bowen's four-square examination of apologetical war and religious tribalism, as autonomous subjects, is welcome not only for its particular findings in a hitherto obscure field but also as a blow against what sometimes seems, in effect, a conspiracy of silence. It is all the more welcome for its seventy-four pages of notes and references. Alas—for this is a book based to a very considerable extent upon new sources—these follow instead of accompanying the text.

## The Italian diaspora

By Filippo Domini

ANGELO FILIPPUZZI: *La diaspora italiana nell'emigrazione*. Polimonia nazionale e stampa politica (1861-1914)  
421pp. Florence: Le Monnier. L9.50.

According to an Italian parliamentary inquiry there were in 1970 six million Italian citizens living permanently in the diaspora, the descendants of Italians who by nature or choice had become citizens of other countries numbered about another forty million. This vast dispersion of Italians throughout the world, but mostly in North and South America and Australia, is the result of a process of migration which started around 1870, immediately after the achievement of

Italian unity, reached its peak in the years preceding the First World War (between 1900 and 1914 more than a million Italians entered the United States, and in 1914 alone more than a million left Italy going on, although at a much slower rate, to the United States, approximately, of the population of the United States, and one third of Argentinians, are of Italian origin.

The path of emigration is never very smooth, but for Italians it was particularly thorny. Most of them came from the south and were poor, illiterate and ignorant, backward peasants who easily fell victim to rapacious swindlers. It happened more than once that whole parishes of peasants intending to join relatives who had already settled in the Argentine were lured by unscrupulous agents in New York. Frequently the Italians were taken on by American landowners who needed to replace their freed slaves: the new white slaves were children, were sold by destitute parents to greedy middlemen who

forged their papers and gave their age as more than ten (to comply with the law) and then placed them in the hands of American slave-grinders.

It was in fact a question asked in Parliament in 1868, about the plight of Italian children in London, which first confronted the Italian Government with the necessity of legislation to regulate emigration. It took, however, twenty years before the first law was passed (1888), and it was only towards the end of the century that the studies of G. Fortunato, Sonnino, E. S. Nitti and L. Einaudi presented a mature, realistic understanding of the problem. At the same time the efforts of several religious orders founded for the purpose by V. Pallotti, G. B. Scialoja, Borrelli, and F. S. Cabrali, began to assist emigrants in a practical way, so that they were no longer alone and defenceless.

The method chosen by Angelo Filippuzzi to tell the story of this great economic and social drama, the emigration of Italians, is the first half-century of her unity, is, very wisely, to let the facts speak for themselves. He has collected 110 documents, from the first debate in Parliament in 1869 to a study of the consequences of Sarajevo on the thousands of Italians scattered through the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and has linked them with a clear, well-informed narrative of the intervening events, together with an appropriate political and sociological commentary. Most of the documents are newspaper articles from the Venetian region (whose contribution to emigration was the highest in Northern Italy), but there are also letters from individual emigrants and collective reports that constitute the most poignant elements in the book. The desperate cries of children exhausted by the heat of the glassworks are unforgettable. But inside the furnace I do not stand it any more.

## The Cobden Trust Award

A prize of £200 will be given annually to the writer of the published work which has most furthered the cause of civil liberties in the United Kingdom. The prize will be presented by the Chairperson of the meeting in December at which the Trust's annual Human Rights Day lecture is given. Editors or publishers who wish to bring a particular article or book to the attention of the judges should send a copy to the Cobden Trust before the 1st September. It will considerably help the judges if entries are received well before the closing date. The Award will be administered by the Trustees of the Cobden Trust which is a registered charity conducting research and education into civil liberties.

### Conditions of Entry

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2. The prize may be awarded to the writer of a number of published works and need not be confined to a single item.
3. The judges will be the Cobden Trustees who may invite others to join the panel.
4. The judges may divide the prize or decide not to make an award.
5. The decision of the judging panel will be final and binding and the Trust will not enter into correspondence thereon.
6. Employees of the Cobden Trust and the National Council for Liberties are not eligible.



# The drama business

By A. F. Sponberg

TRAVIS BOGARD, RICHARD MOODY and WALTER J. MESSEVRE: The Revels History of Drama in English. Volume 8: American Drama. 324pp. Methuen, £13 (paperback, £8.50).

This book gives a concise and accurate introduction to American drama, but it is more a chronicle than narrative or critical history. This is a pity, because there are a number of such works available: Walter Meserve's *An Outline History of American Drama* is one of the most useful and a good deal less expensive than this one. This volume also perpetuates an approach to its subject which goes back at least to Arthur Hobson Quinn's standard history of American drama from its beginnings up to the Depression. Instead of another introduction, American drama needs an F. O. Matthiessen and its own "American Renaissance".

In the United States, drama was a business before it was an art. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, playwrights sold their work outright to the actor-managers who controlled the theatres. No copyright law protected them until 1856; no international law nearly 1891. The best playwright of that period, Robert Montgomery Bird, was sipped, legally, by his leading actor, Edwin Forrest. Bird received \$1,000 each for *The Gladiator* and *The Broken Bow* in which Forrest toured for nearly forty years, reaping profits many times the original cost. Bird received not a penny and turned to journalism and politics. Forrest never allowed the plays to be printed.

Forrest's attitude still prevails. Nowadays rights to plays are hoarded as we may yet learn to hoard fossil fuels. If too many have access, playwrights may collapse. A playwright may learn that plays are renewable resources has led to a steady decline in the number and quality of new productions over the past half-century. Yet lamentations over closed theatres and rising ticket prices echo only faintly west of the Hudson River. People don't go to the theatre in the United States because they haven't been shown that it is an interesting place to go and that dramatists have important things to say about their lives and their country. There are three reasons for this: first, plays are seldom read, in the schools or out; second, it is generally neither easy nor cheap to see and read plays; and third, the methods adopted by historians and critics with few exceptions have not been analytic, allusive and discursive, but descriptive, literal, and paralytic. Quinn's history, valuable in many ways, is the locus classicus of the type and this new study follows the old pattern with out Quinn's wealth of quotation and detail.

Travis Bogard opens the volume with four chapters on the "range and contexts of American drama". Richard Moody follows with a long chapter on actors, managers, producers and directors. Walter Meserve concludes with fourteen chapters on the dramatists and their plays. The longest (twenty-six pages) treats drama between the world wars and the shortest (three pages) drama during the Revolution.

Professor Bogard's book on *Quinn's American Drama* is a book of an American dramatist. In this volume he turns our attention first to the changing working conditions and financial arrangements which have influenced "professional" actors. Then, in a nice balancing act, he summarizes the attempts to raise American drama from the slough of commercialism. His last two chapters discuss, respectively, the careers of the major dramatists and O'Neill's work in relation to that of Shaw.

Professor Bogard discusses three dominant themes in American drama. First, there is love of the land, the belief in a life in which "many other things" are bound together in harmony. The second theme is that of the "second man". In comic, melodramatic, and tragic variations, this character seeks worldly success or the accom-

plishment of some ideal. It is largely through the last variation that American playwrights have dealt with social justice and the dark side of what is known, in a disorienting simplification, as the American Dream.

He is often filled with vital energy, but his course is most frequently one that leads him to self-destruction or to a bewildering confusion that saps his will. His sexual inclinations are sometimes Oedipal, and he is frequently threatened with psychological or... physical castration.

The third and related theme, and one the American playwright almost never escapes, is the hero's search for fulfillment in relationship with a wife-lover-mother figure. Professor Bogard shows that these themes are widespread in American plays and of long standing.

No one used these themes more than Eugene O'Neill, and the chapter on O'Neill and Shaw is the most thought-provoking in the book. It is a good example of the allusive analytical method needed to deepen the understanding of America's dramatic heritage. Professor Bogard acknowledges differences of value, vision, and temperament but finds equally significant similarities: the bulk and quality of their work, their refusal to be bound by realistic conventions, their mastery of theatrical technique. Most important, Professor Bogard clear their gifts as mythmakers. To dramatize the view, he brings on stage that ever-popular duo, Apollo and Dionysus. Their appearance, though familiar, is appropriate in the case of two of the century's best known students

of Nietzschean doctrine. Both wrangle with the tension between the "conscious self" and the "life-energy" that is eternal and unchanging. They resolved the tension differently. Shaw's Superman, the Apollonian, "climbs forward to a point where... he can leave behind all flesh and become the 'whirlpool of pure intelligence'". O'Neill's Lazarus, the Dionysian, sees "man's soul as an entry into cosmic forces, but the direction to be taken is downwards to the submergence of life in primordial matter". For the writing of the history of American drama, Professor Bogard's conclusions are not so important as his attempt to relate O'Neill's work to the world of ideas. The failure of his co-writers to follow his example may consign this book to dusty life on the shelves of libraries which can afford it.

Professor Moody surveys American theatre history through capsule biographies of important personalities. The following is typical:

Mrs Minnie Maddern Fiske (1865-1932) is the transitional actress. Her acting style evolved in the nineteenth century but belongs to the twentieth. She began as a child actress, made her debut in 1882, ranged over the standard roles, and in the mid-nineties found her real place with Tess, Becky Sharp, Salva-tion Nell, and the troubled ladies of Ibsen's domestic dramas. She critics quickly perceived that she was of a new breed. They spoke of her mental capacity to analyze a character to its core, of her repose, reserve and silent moments, of the absence of the-

trical trickery and display, of the painstaking and revealing detail, and of the sense of "intense repressed force". When young actors sought her advice, she told them: "Keep it true—keep it true." Here generally masquerades as detail because it is of these quickly perceived qualities that we ought to hear more and do not. We read here of actors, producers, and directors but hardly ever of acting, producing, or directing. It is as if one were to do a history of medicine by writing only of the lives of doctors. Of the ideas behind the personalities and of their relations to national themes we hear very little.

Economics is a case in point. The Klaw-Erleranger syndicate rates, in passing, six pages. This was a theatrical conglomerate which "obtained an all but complete monopoly on production" during the first two decades of this century. Its successor, the Shubert syndicate, by the mid-1920s "controlled 75 per cent of the theatre tickets sold annually". In failing to discuss present-day conditions, the authors leave the impression that syndicate values have passed away. Anyone who has read William Goldman's *The Season* or Robert Cohen's *Acting Professionally* (two informative books not included in the bibliography of this volume) knows that these values continue to influence the sorts of plays American can see. In the United States drama is still a business.

Professor Meserve takes a stab at presenting the larger patterns, but too often he flashes the old transparencies on the cyclorama:



Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt in *The Taming of the Shrew* (1935), from *American Drama*.

## Victoria amused

By George Speaight

GEORGE ROWELL: Queen Victoria Goes to the Theatre. 144pp. Elek. £6.95.

As she grew older Victoria's enthusiasm extended to the drama as well. She never saw Edmund Kean, but she was a great admirer of his son Charles, and a somewhat less so of his daughter, Mrs. Fanny Kemble.

Queen Victoria's interest in the theatre was not a long time dying. This book will help to kill it off. Queen Victoria was amused. Frequently. At the theatre.

From early years she was a keen, even a passionate theatre-goer. Her earliest love was ballet and opera; she adored Taglioni and was infatuated with Crisp. Day by day she recorded in her Journal her comments on the productions she had seen, and sometimes she made sketches of the performers. Some of these sketches are reproduced in this book, but George Rowell strangely makes no mention of the little dolls that were dressed by the princess and her governess so as to represent characters that she had seen on the stage. These dolls are now housed in the Museum of London, and are an elegant witness to her fascination for the theatre.

And, indeed, to what we would now regard as the early age at which theatre-going began for children in the early nineteenth century. The history of the toy theatre tells a similar story.

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And so the theatre-going went on, enriched with the company of her husband and her children. Vestris, Robson, Alfred Wigan and many others attracted the shrewd if sometimes prejudiced comments of this royal dramatist. But all this was ended in 1861. After the death of Prince Albert the Queen never set her foot in a theatre again. It is, indeed, a mark of her abiding grief that she denied herself for the rest of her life what had been one of her greatest sources of enjoyment hitherto.

The final years of her reign were, however, not entirely without dramatic interest. There were home theatricals and *tableaux vivants*, and a series of command performances, mostly at Windsor or Balmoral, which enabled Victoria to see the acting of Irving and Ellen Terry, Sarah Bernhardt, the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, and other examples of the late Victorian theatrical scene.

Through all this, George Rowell provides an easy and disorienting guide. But it is Victoria's own comments that stick in the memory. Just because they are so personal and direct in expression, they do indeed provide a livelier comment on the theatre than much of the formal dramatic criticism of her time.

Before the crash, the flagrant restlessness, questioning, peevish temper of the times, the artistic escapism of the late Victorian era, the expressionist titles—*Tops* at Revell's and *Beautiful and Damned*—the philosophy of the decade, the conventions of the day, the ugliness of religion and young people of government, in the thought of Freud, Nietzsche, and the behaviourists.

There are the names, but the last we see of them. The plot summary and three scenes on "thesis" the later social darkness. But what was much more like a moral, this approach also Quinn's favourite, yields to a Gogolian civil servant on a spree.

The show was generally considered to have been a great success. It has been running again at the Lyric Theatre since 1967. The show was generally considered to have been a great success. It has been running again at the Lyric Theatre since 1967. The show was generally considered to have been a great success. It has been running again at the Lyric Theatre since 1967.

Under these terms of reference nothing more to say but a word to befall an American playwright. But what was much more like a moral, this approach also Quinn's favourite, yields to a Gogolian civil servant on a spree.

## The producer calls the tune

Patrick Carnegie

THE MAKING OF AN OPERA: Giovanni at Glyndebourne. By Peter Hall. 196pp. Secker and Warburg. £7.95.

Peter Hall's 1977 production of *Giovanni* at Glyndebourne was the opera in a new light. The production was a masterpiece of the modernist style, with a minimalist set and a focus on the music and the actors' performances.

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## Spotlight on the director

J. W. Lambert

CHARLES MAROWITZ: The Act of Being. 196pp. Secker and Warburg. £6.50.

It remains what it always was, a masterpiece of the modernist style, with a minimalist set and a focus on the music and the actors' performances.

It is an extension, though seldom a repetition, of the gospel he preached in his first book, *The Method as Means* (1961). In this book, Marowitz's actual work is proclaimed the merits of an approach to acting based on the works of Konstantin Stanislavski.

The *Act of Being* begins by taking up this theme—some might say, too broadly with greater violence. Lee Strasberg, the most influential of many American gurus teaching the Method, is handsomely—and judiciously—lambasted. In his hands the Method is a "discontinuous" and "disruptive" force, a "discontinuity" in the actor's life.

Marowitz still insists that the actor is "obliged to work from his own subjectivity" and is "someone who remembers"; and when he wrote *The Method as Means* he had not yet more than twenty years of experience in the theatre.

Marowitz's criticism is by far the most stimulating of reviews to have appeared in the past decade or so. Though often polemical, he is never less willing to hear the other side of the argument. He is a man who is not afraid to accept the work of a man as good as dead.

By 1965, in *The Marowitz Hamlet*, he was free to give against the way in which Shakespeare's play was "imprisoned by its narrative". In other words, for him it had gone stale. In *The Act of Being* he credits his then senior partner, Peter Brook with the original idea for the "collage"

tragic, and disciplinarian, though of course only in the interests of good exam results. If the book is not so strong on the musical side, then that is a fair reflection of Glyndebourne's current weakness, though there are encouraging signs that Bernard Haitink is beginning to put that right. Opera today, observes Stafford Dean, the Leporello, is director's theatre; once upon a time it had belonged to conductors, and before that even to singers.

On the dank April morning of the first rehearsal, hot-foot off the early train after the opening night of his *Volpone* at the National Theatre, Peter Hall announced that there would be no preliminary speech. "I hate to arrive with my 'producer's' speech," he said. "I want the singers, who stood shivering before him in their overcoats as the radiators could manage no more than a continuous churning, visceral sound."

Nevertheless, Sir Peter himself was soon in full spate. The singers were told that discipline and darkness were important themes in the opera. In the ensembles they were to address the audience directly, "choose someone to speak to and show someone else, and go on milking them the whole time." As for Giovanni's character, "We are all brought up to believe... that if you behave as a shit then one day you will be a shit. Come, come, Giovanni is out to question all that. When he calls for a toast and sings *Viva la Liberté* he's really saying 'Bigger the world.' Sir Peter did not make the mistake of courting dumb singers, or even Mr

Higgins, with high-flown theory: "The *dramma giocoso* consists to a great extent in the orchestra taking the piss, with music which is very hard, very bally." Infectious language, for soon Mr Higgins is describing Giovanni and Leporello in the language of a chess player, the Statue "like a pair of muling peacocks, or peacocks".

And so to action. The first idea was that Giovanni, escaping from Anna's bedroom, should leap to the ground from her balcony. Benjamin Luxon is ready for almost any athletic feat. It was, however, a seven-foot drop and the stage was raked. So the former PT instructor landed on his right ankle and the Don spent the greater part of the energetic rehearsal hobbling about on crutches. The stunt was abandoned, Luxon grimly remarking that if Giovanni was going to make such an athletic arrival then "he would like to see a demonstration leap or two by the production team". Hall is notorious among singers—and perhaps actors too—for his insistence that they are living dangerously on stage, in a state of perpetual fear and trembling, though they are not performing at all. No doubt that is one way of keeping their minds off their voices, one way to singers' tremors, obsession with the vocal problems.

Inevitably there was a certain amount of resistance to the new weeks of rehearsal and the fun and games dreamt up to pass the time. Pity Pierre Thau, the Commendatore, with dozens of performances in the role to his credit. As Mr Higgins says, the Commendatore "makes three appearances in the

opera and his movements are well specified in the libretto, when he is allowed to move at all. Apart from the nods of the head, the graveyard scene demands rigidity and nothing else."

For Thau, as for many overseas singers, Glyndebourne was really an agreeable Sussex holiday. The Stone Guest "gave the impression of a well-to-do French businessman on holiday, immaculately turned out in cashmere sweaters and carefully creased trousers". He struck Mr Higgins as being scrupulously punctual and polite, living up to his appearance by "going to London to shop at Harrods and the Marks & Spencer, taking the air at Brighton". Knowing not much English, Thau "took very little part in discussion on the nature of Don Giovanni". Neither it seems did the Elyria, Rosalio Andrade, who also spoke little English: "The dissection of an opera... was not within her range of experience... she smiled winningly and was constantly anxious to please, but it was not her world." As for the Anna, Joan Carden, she was a no-nonsense "gritty figure who was determined to succeed. In Australia she had played tennis to championship standard."

Offstage she cut a "friendly" slightly housewife figure with a bag of knitting from which protruded an unidentifiable piece of red clothing which became longer as the rehearsal progressed". Leo Goetz, the Don Ottavio, had somehow persuaded the authorities to relax their strict rules of rehearsal, so that he, the Commendatore, had a ten-day break for concert engage-

ments in the United States. One thing worried him badly, namely that Peter Hall ("I'd hate to arrive with 'my' production...") had decided to age Ottavio by some twenty years. Not a pleasant prospect for the young American tenor, who returned after his leave to find that his absence had earned him even more grey hairs. Ottavio was now considered to be in his fifties rather than mere forties. The reaction of Goetz, sometime Tom Rukewell, whose face is round, almost bushy under waves of chestnut hair, may be imagined, not least to the black attire "for walking out with Anna, which made him look a little like Jane Austen's Mr Knightley."

At the end of the day those left in the dramaturgical seminar were Peter Hall, his assistant Stewart Trotter, and Ben Luxon and Stafford Dean fighting back to keep the dialogue alive. There was, as Luxon told Higgins, "almost a farcical side to the experimenting". It had, Hall eventually admitted, been quite wrong to have frustrated Dean, who had sung the role a couple of hundred times, by proposing that Leporello was Mortar Hall's words: "I think they're very close and have a lot of fun together."

Luxon himself, having worked with Hall before, realized that the work would be "a mixture of frustration and exhilaration". Injuries apart, he appears to have come out of the ordeal on the right side. In performance he plainly revelled in the interpretation they had worked out together. He was particularly pleased with the Act I finale, when the Don and Leporello made an attempt to escape their accusers, but advanced defiantly to the front of the stage, the Don making a mocking, conjuring's gesture to the audience—the same with which he dismissed his women—just as the curtain fell. Most of the critics took a dim view of this coup de théâtre. It was left to the playwright Peter Shaffer (in a vigorous letter to *The Times*) to defend Hall, who at one stroke "had solved the central problem of directing *Don Giovanni*. By making the scene *dramatic*, he could finally link the two disparate acts of this strange piece." It was indeed the most memorable episode of the production.

Those who saw it will ponder many discrepancies between the intentions, as here revealed, and the result. There is certainly much to be learnt from Peter Hall's view of *Don Giovanni*, and from John Higgins' account of it. It is a chronicle of the book is of course excessively beholden to the quotability of Sir Peter and perhaps less than just to the artistry and grind put in by the rest of the production team. Still, one cannot altogether blame producers for putting drama at rehearsal; if all goes well they will be eclipsed on the night by those who have other things to do at rehearsal than talk.

## THE STATE OF FICTION A SYMPOSIUM

with contributions from A. Alvarez, Brian Aldiss, Kingsley Amis, Martin Amis, Paul Bailey, J. G. Ballard, A. L. Barker, St. Barrow, David Benardine, Malcolm Bradbury, Mervyn Bragg, John Braine, Christina Brooke-Rose, Jeremy Brooks, Bridget Brophy, A. S. Byatt, Angela Carter, Isabel Colegate, William Coombe, Robert Coover, Elaine Feinstein, Eva Figes, Nicolas Freeling, Giles Gordon, Kevin Hignett, Michael Holroyd, Dan Jacobson, Diane Johnson, Jennifer Johnston, Gabriel Josipovici, Mervyn Jones, Francis King, David Lodge, Ian McEwan, Olivia Manning, Susan Merrill, David Moore, Helen Murray, Edna O'Brien, Julia O'Faolain, David Plante, Barbara Pym, Frederic Raphael, Piers Paul Read, Alan Ross, Alan Silvestro, Julian Symonds, Emma Treharne, Paul Theroux, Anthony Thwaite, William Trevor, Peter Vanittart, Auberon Waugh, Raymond Williams, Angus Wilson, A. N. Wilson.

In the summer issue of

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# To the Editor

## Authors and Unions

Sir,—Maureen Duffy, in seeking to reassure us on the subject of authors and unions (Letters, July 28), has chosen to quote the words of Lady Macbeth cheering on her husband Macbeth to his bloody purpose: "Tis the eye of childhood that fears a painted devil." I do not find myself reassured by this quotation.

She has not answered Hugh Thomas's point (Letters, July 21) about writers' freedom. I am one of those writers who will resign from the Society of Authors when it becomes a union. As former chairman, vice-chairman and member of the Committee of Management I shall do so with much regret. But in May 1974 the Society of Authors voted not to become a union and nothing that has happened in the world or in the world of writers' unions elsewhere since that date has made me incline more favourably to the idea of unions for writers. I am not at all opposed to trade unions as such—if I were in a different profession I should certainly belong to one. But I just cannot equate the profession of writing with other professions in this respect. While I do not believe that I have an inalienable right to be a steelworker or a car-worker, I do believe that I have an inalienable right to write a book for publication—and so has every steelworker and everyone else, whether they belong to a writers' union or not.

I dread the thought of literary censorship by union, political or otherwise. I dread the thought of any kind of closed shop ever being introduced into the sphere of writing in this country. It seems to me that by becoming a union, the Society of Authors is in danger of helping on that process.

ANTONIA FRASER.

52 Campden Hill Square, London W8 7JL.

Sir,—In reply to Hugh Thomas's letter concerning the unionization of writers (July 21), I must remind him that trade unions already flourish within our field, in publishing, printing, binding, journalism, and indeed in writing (with the Writers' Guild). As authors, we must of course prize what individual contributions we can make (this is the value of being individual); but that is not the same as claiming we do not need a strong society which can look after our individual rights. Despite Professor Thomas's remark about "nacks of authors", he has been a member, if an inactive one, of the Society of Authors for twenty years.

The Society of Authors exists to protect its members and advance their interests, both individually and collectively. There have been no aims since its foundation in 1884, and they remain so. Following a referen-

dum among our three thousand and more members last winter, a majority of two to one resulted in the Committee of Management being given authority to apply for trade union status.

Unionization will bring positive advantages (and not only to members, I hope, but to all writers, as non-members have in fact profited by the society's activities in the past). We shall gain the right to disclosure of vital information by employers with whom society members have contracts, the right of appeal to ACAS in disputed cases, and of course greater corporate strength.

As for the point about the closed shop, the society has made it absolutely clear that this concept is not only impracticable but abhorrent to us; we have never deviated from the belief, expressed in policy, that every writer should enjoy an essential freedom to write and have work published, whether or not he or she belonged to any organization. We have to look after the struggling "first" novelist, as well as the distinguished man of letters. It is felt that the society can play a positive role in promoting the rights and interests of authors as a force within the trade union movement, instead of attempting to do the same thing less effectively from outside.

It is sad that Professor Thomas has chosen to resign. In today's climate, literature will get little unless it fights for it. Writers must always stand firm for the culture of which they are a part, individualists or not, and that is most effectively done from within the society on occasions when some sort of collective action is needed.

BRIAN W. ALDIS.

Chairman of the Committee of Management, The Society of Authors, 84 Drayton Gardens, London SW10 9SD.

## Moxie

Sir,—There is no mystery about the moxie which puzzled Janet Morgan in her review of Nixon's memoirs (July 7), and it has nothing to do with moxie. Moxie is a character, a dramatic sort of wit, flavoured with genuine wit, which has been manufactured since 1884 and which was widely promoted in my father's youth, before the First World War, with the slogan "Drink Moxie". Its purported energizing qualities have passed into the modern vernacular. Webster's and Flexner's Dictionary of American Slang lists the following meanings: courage, nerve, guts; experience, skill, shrewdness; initiative, aggressiveness. The most recent use cited by Wentworth and Flexner, from Mr. Shubert's *Barfoot Boy* with a cheek, might well be applied to Mr. Nixon himself: "Maybe it's because we knew you had the old moxie, the old get out and get."

EMILIE DE BRIGARD.

Higganum, Connecticut 06441.

## Among this week's contributors

ROBERT M. ADAMS's most recent book, *Bad Mouth*, was published last year.

JOSEPH ALSON's book, *The Reporter's Trade* (with Robert Alson), 1956, and *From the Silent Earth*, 1964.

JOHN BERN's *Coleridge's Poetic Imagination* was published last year.

I. A. W. BENNETT's books include *Chaucer's Book of Fame*, 1968, and *Chaucer's Oxford and at Cambridge*, 1974.

HUGH BODGAN is the author of *Teacupville*, 1973.

ANITA BROOKMAN's *The Genre of the Future: Studies in French Art Criticism* was published in 1973.

ARCHIE BROWN is the author of *Social Politics and Political Science*, 1974.

JOHN BUTT is Professor of Economic History at the University of Strathclyde.

ALAN CAMPBELL is a Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh.

F. R. H. DU BOULAY's books include *The Lordship of Canterbury*, 1966, and *The Lordship of Canterbury*, 1970.

RICHARD GORDON's *Practical Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* was published in 1971.

J. W. LAMBERT is the author of *Drama in Britain 1964-73*, 1974.

OLIVER MACDONAGH's *Early Victorian Government 1830-1870* was published last year.

DANIEL MAJON's collections of poems include *Lives*, 1972, and *The Snow Party*, 1975.

MOLLY MAHON is Professor of English Literature at the University of Kent.

FRYER MARSHALL is Professor of American History and Institutions at the University of Manchester.

EDWARD MORRIS's *Church and Society in England 1870-1970* was published in 1976.

ROLAND OLIVER is the author of *A. E. A. Moore's Africa Since 1800*, 1976.

## F. R. Leavis

Sir,—I have just learnt that an advertisement appeared recently in your paper announcing that a film unit is preparing "a biography of F. R. Leavis" and requesting that material be supplied by the public for this purpose. In case any of Dr Leavis's friends or former pupils do so under the impression given by this advertisement that such an undertaking is authorized, allow me to state that the opposite is true: on being informed by the BBC Television Presentations Department that their Book Programme Group "are making a film of the life and work of" my husband and demanding my cooperation, I at once wrote to say that I, my children and literary executor were wholly opposed to any such project and would not allow them to use any copyright material, letters or photos for such a purpose, or give interviews, or allow television cameras into our home, and my solicitor wrote to protest to a higher authority in television. Nevertheless, the Assistant Head of the Presentations Department replied that they would persist, their defence being that since F. R. Leavis was a famous man, and that I, my children and literary executor were interested in knowing about his life. I pointed out that anyone who is interested can read his works, which contain all they need to know and all they are entitled to know; that his life and works being widely academic and intellectual, they cannot be filmed without falsification, travesty and caricature. I hope no one will supply tapes, film, photographs, letters or interviews for the purpose, which can only be an unjustifiable piece of commercial exploitation.

Q. D. LEAVIS.

12 Rulstrode Gardens, Cambridge CB3 0EN.

## Victorian Paintings

Sir,—The assumptions behind Peter Conrad's "The destruction of the image" (Commentary, July 28) in the *Great Victorian Pictures* exhibition at the Royal Academy, need some comment. Phrases such as "corrupt taste", "decadent art", and "sentimental coarseness of subject" show an envious confidence in his own aesthetic standpoint, which is not wholly easy to share more significantly, Mr Conrad makes no effort, as he presents his case here, to tackle Victorian painting from any critical standpoint which the Victorians would have recognized.

On one level, this is the complaint of the historian, pleading for "objectivity" and a sense of period, but it is more than this, because of the complexity of our relationship with the Victorians. As historians, we may regret that Mr Conrad has failed to make the step imaginatively to a recreation which can illuminate past period, however alien its beliefs; but this, maybe, is not within

the critic's brief. The situation is not so clearcut in dealing with the Victorians; we may feel very distant from their stated values (which Rosemary Troble characterizes as "Truth, Sentiment and Health") and from their means of expressing them—their reliance on metaphorical and narrative signs.

But we are the Victorians' direct descendants; we share many of their underlying assumptions, though we express them so differently. Modern "taste" may cloak extremes of feeling that Victorians could only evoke in metaphor. But the continuities are there, and the qualities which Mr Conrad disparages are an integral part of present-day popular culture.

Popularity, of course, in no sense precludes deeper analysis, but Mr Conrad starts out from a position of cultural elitism which prevents him from entering fully into the diversity of visual and social experience which makes Victorian painting what it is. The rich, yet dispassionate, notes in the exhibition catalogue make a strong case for the direct relevance to us of the "Treasure House" of Victorian art.

JOHN ROUSE.

Department of History of Art, University College London, Gower Street WC1E 6BT.

## Plato

Sir,—Gregory Vlastos and I have been arguing about three questions: (a) Does Socrates believe that virtue is only an instrumental means to a not a component of, happiness? (b) Is this belief consistent with the belief that virtue is sufficient for happiness? (c) Did I imply in *Plato's Moral Theory* that the two beliefs are inconsistent?

Vlastos actually denied (a) and (b) and affirmed (c), and I have argued against him on each. I am not sure of Vlastos's present view on (c). His most recent letter (July 14) is concerned with (b); he assumes that a negative answer supports a "sufficient" (a). He admits that "sufficient" in (b) could, taken by itself, be understood as "instrumentally sufficient", but argues that the relevant contexts in the Dialogues exclude this interpretation, which Socrates insists that someone who considers only whether his action is virtuous or not when he decides what to do, Vlastos argues that since the instrumentalist thesis separates virtue from happiness, it conflicts with Socrates' exclusive concern for virtue.

On one level, this is the complaint of the historian, pleading for "objectivity" and a sense of period, but it is more than this, because of the complexity of our relationship with the Victorians. As historians, we may regret that Mr Conrad has failed to make the step imaginatively to a recreation which can illuminate past period, however alien its beliefs; but this, maybe, is not within

If Socrates likewise assumes the instrumental benefits of virtue, he need only consider the virtuousness of an action when he decides about doing it. Vlastos has not shown, then, that no one who concentrates exclusively on the virtuousness of an action can consistently regard virtue as only an instrumental means to happiness.

I have argued here that Socrates does assume that virtue has large enough instrumental benefits to justify exclusive concern with it in deciding what to do, not that the assumption would be justified. But it might reasonably be attractive. Virtue would be genuinely defended if it could be shown to be an inalienable instrumental means to some ultimate good valued by everyone, virtuous and vicious alike. There would be no need to justify one conception of ultimate good against another, the rightly supposed to be difficult, and often supposed to be impossible. Perhaps moral theory must undertake this task; but I do not think it would be foolish for Socrates to see if he could avoid it.

T. H. IRWIN.

Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853.

## Information please

Richard Doyle (1824-1883), illustrator and painter, whereabouts of any original drawings, letters, paintings or manuscript material, for a biography.

Rodney Engen, 96 Dartmouth Road, London NW4 4HH.

Bernard Bevan, author, art critic and historian of Hispanic architecture and culture; any information about him, especially letters.

J. G. O'Keefe, Editorial Department, Linotype University Press, 123 Gower Street, Liverpool L7 7AR.

Wilkie Collins: whereabouts of diary or any letters to or from him, for a collection of letters and related papers.

Kirk H. Ross, Department of English, University of California at San Diego, California 95166.

Georges Cuvier (1769-1832): whereabouts of any unpublished work other than those in the *Annales Philologiques* Society Library, Paris; of the Institut de France, Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris; for a history, Dorinda Oudin, Department of History, Royal Holloway College, Egham TW20 0EX, Surrey.

L. P. Hartley: contact wanted if anyone who knew him or corresponded with him.

Penelope Fitzgerald, 25 Almeric Road, London SW10 2WL.

Helen Huntington: whereabouts of any copies of her novels or editions of verse for sale or exchange.

Eric Salmons, Department of Drama, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario N1G 2W1.

Anthony Huxtable, Rector of St. Walden, Dorset, agricultural writer and experimentalist; reformer and restorer of churches; whereabouts of any papers, letters or other documents.

P. J. Perry, Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1, New Zealand.

Tom Roberts (1856-1931), Australian artist: whereabouts of any examples of his work in English collections, for a catalogue raisonné.

H. L. Topik, Department of Monash University, Clayton 3168, Australia.

Sir Matthew Smith (1879-1958), English painter; whereabouts of any letters written by him or Lady Smith, or contact with anyone who knew him, for a biography.

Alice Kew, 85 Sydney Road, London NW1 8JL.

Count Eric Stenbock (1879-1958), poet and eccentric; whereabouts of any information about him and especially whereabouts of a portrait of him by Max Beerli, portrait of him by Max Beerli, portrait of him by Max Beerli.

Githa Sowerby, British painter; whereabouts of a manuscript about him, for a monograph.

John Fagg, Division of Arts and Humanities, College Park University, Maryland, Maryland 20742.

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# Art collecting: the Renaissance and antiquity

By Joseph Alsop

This is the fifth of the 1978 Andrew W. Mellon Lectures on the History of Art, which have recently been delivered by Joseph Alsop at the National Gallery in Washington, DC.

We have now to deal with serious art collecting's reappearance in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages—after disappearing from the West 800 years before. The first solid evidence for this is decidedly a chance-saved memorandum by Oliviero Forzetta, a money-lender of Treviso, to the north of Venice. Although usury was a sin, Forzetta prospered mightily, leaving the then enormous fortune of 80,000 ducats and much real property. He was born in 1300 and died in 1373, so his lifespan precisely covered the first period when wholly new ways of thinking about art and artists began to develop in Italy. Otherwise, he is a mysterious figure. He wrote bad Latin, for example; yet he formed a library of classical literature that must have surpassed any other private work in Italy in his time, with the possible exception of his contemporaries, Boccaccio and Petrarch.

The usurer with a remarkable and pioneering classical library is less puzzling, all the same, than the man who is supposed to have collected art collecting of his contemporaries, Boccaccio and Petrarch. He was to collect early, too, for the memorandum of his collecting is a note to himself about things to buy in Venice in 1335.

The list begins with *testae*—the usual term in those days for classical cameos or intaglios. Following the *testae*, the main item on the list is a set of four antique marble busts, later widely attributed to the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, and the best guess is that they passed from his collection to his ultimate home, the Venetian church of Santa Maria della Miracola. Another entry concerns a very special *testa*, rather clearly a classical carved gem, depicting a figure with head bound by a helmet, and garlanded with a laurel wreath. It is surrounded by animals and birds, and the bust is probably Artemis of wild beasts. The entry notes that this *testa* belonged to "Anna Jocondi Jocondi". Antique busts and figures of this kind were also indicated by the names of horses, bulls, naked men, and men and beasts that were to be secured from Marinus Salicruti, whoever he may have been. And he formed a model of a classical carved gem in a setting which he showed, too, that this surprising medallion on Notre Dame's portal must be connected with a strong, classical carved gem. In the thirteenth century, they were longer seen as jewels like any others, as they had been; for those most in demand were portrait busts. This, no doubt, was the origin of the curious usage found in Forzetta's memorandum of *testae* "head" in late medieval Latin—for any antique carved gem.

The classical art collecting that began in earnest with Oliviero For-

zetta also quite clearly continued and developed in Italy throughout the fourteenth century. The surviving evidence is sadly fragmentary. But there is a reason for this: it can be deduced from the story of the Venus statue found at Siena in the mid-fourteenth century, and finally broken to bits as demned-tainted. The point to note here is that those who favoured destroying the statue were the more superstitiously devout—and probably the poorer—Sienese. In contrast, we are told that when the statue was first unseathed during the system of house foundations, the experts learned in the art of sculpture all "ran to see it", and only leaders of the city can have had the authority to place the statue atop Siena's principal fountain—until the superstitious attack on it. In other words, the enthusiasm for classical works of art in fourteenth-century Italy was a rather strong *classe* taste, and we should perhaps think of the collectors of this period as a fairly narrow group, essentially avant-garde in character.

This may seem an incongruous phrase to apply to fourteenth-century Italian collectors of classical works of art. In fact, however, all the people leaving the return to the classical past in fourteenth-century Italy were an avant-garde. The poets, thinkers and scholars were defying the ancient dominion of scholasticism and theology and the whole long-held viewpoints summed up in St Jerome's famous recoil, in his twenty-first letter to Damasus, from the temptations of the classical literature he loved overmuch himself. The classical collectors, equally, were defying the popular view that such works of art were tainted, and they were well ahead of the average taste of their time during most of this period. Furthermore, these Italian collectors of the fourteenth century possessed a new kind of taste, and it was in a far more important way than any subsequent avant-garde one can think of.

Avant-garde taste, by definition, is the taste of a minority. The view that the fourteenth-century classical collectors were a minority of this type is confirmed in another way, too, by the small number whose names have survived. The inventory of the ill-fated Doge Marino Faliero shows that he owned a few classical pieces along with some exotic imports from China given to him by his friend and neighbour, Marco Polo. Petrarch collected classical coins and medals along with his books. Petrarch's friend and executor, Lombardo della Seta, bought, and brought to Padua another Venus statue that was found in Florence in the foundations of the Brunelleschi church. And there the record ends, but not the evidence. When the Milanese invaders drove out of Ferrara, Petrarch's former patrons, the Carrara, were restored to the rule of the city in the late fourteenth century. They then cast medals that are obvious classical pastiches—which again

other medieval art collector to compare with the twelfth-century English prince and bishop, Henry of Blois. But although the emperor lived in the first half of the thirteenth century, he was not really a medieval man. Brought up in Sicily, he knew both Greek and Arabic. As Holy Roman Emperor, he claimed the inheritance of the Caesars, and his coins, the famous Augustales, emphasized the claim. They also show he had a coin collection, for they follow Roman models. He further required his sculptors to work in a classicizing style, which influenced Nicola Pisano later in the thirteenth century.

Above all, the emperor apparently had a very large collection of classical carved gems, gathered then, moreover, not in the medieval way, more as jewels, but as works of art that were ends in themselves. This is proved by the products of the gem carving atelier that Frederick II maintained. You do not commission pastiches of works of art unless you much admire the works of art being imitated, and you cannot hope to get really brilliant pastiches without a large supply of first-class models for the pasticheur to study. The best example of the brilliance of the pastiches made for Stupor Mundi is the gem that much later appeared in Lorenzo de' Medici's magnificent posthumous inventory, "L'Arca"—the Ark. The subject, as the gem's name indicates, is Noah's Ark and the animals going in two by two; yet despite the date, it is so deceptively classical in style that, until quite recently, some scholars continued to maintain it was Roman work.

As far as carved gems were concerned, moreover, it is important to note that in the later Middle Ages, Frederick II Hohenstaufen was not entirely alone. Almost simultaneously with his proclamation as Holy Roman Emperor, around 1210, the central portal of Notre Dame was carved in a style that was a revival of classical carved gem. The vice of idolatry is represented by a figure adorning a pagan statue—here a bust. Strange enough, however, the bust is enclosed in an oval frame which is further suspended from a ring. The German expert on carved gems in the Middle Ages, H. Wentzel, has shown that what the idolater is really adoring is a classical carved gem in a setting which he has shown, too, that this surprising medallion on Notre Dame's portal must be connected with a strong, classical carved gem. In the thirteenth century, they were longer seen as jewels like any others, as they had been; for those most in demand were portrait busts. This, no doubt, was the origin of the curious usage found in Forzetta's memorandum of *testae* "head" in late medieval Latin—for any antique carved gem.

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means, of course, that somewhere in Padua another collection of classical medals succeeded Petrarch's, to provide models for the pastiches.

Finally, we have the most striking testimony of all from Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio. He got his odd name from a famous clock he designed for the Visconti in Pavia; but he was a physician and, significantly, another member of the circle of Petrarch. About 1375, Dondi visited Rome, where he spent much time looking at the surviving classical antiquities with an unnamed sculptor as his guide. In a letter, "reduced to speechless wonder by his admiration of ancient monuments", he said the sculptor guide further held that the best antique sculpture was so fine that if it only had the breath of life, it would be better than nature. To this Dondi also added the crucial comment of his own:

Though few of the products of ancient genius survive yet those that are still in existence here and there are avidly sought for and gazed at by those who have perception in these matters, and great prices are paid for them; and if you compare the products of today with those of a former age, you cannot escape the conclusion that those who have them were naturally endowed with a more powerful talent and were more skilled in mastery of the art. I am speaking of ancient buildings and statues and sculptures together with other things of this kind; when contemporary artists carefully examine certain of these ancient works of art they are overwhelmed by amazement.

This passage in Dondi's correspondence has been variously interpreted. But for anyone who has studied the ways of art collectors, there is only one possible meaning in Dondi's statement that the "products of ancient genius" were "avidly sought for" and, wherever found, commanded "great prices". The meaning is, that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century the number of classical art collectors in Italy might still be small, but there were more of them than in the past, and the evidence suggests—in fact, enough of them to lead to the collectors' competition, which began to take place in the early fifteenth century, when there are enough collectors to bid against each other for the available prizes. Whenever this situation arises, prices always begin to rise in a way that surprises people beyond the narrow circle of the collectors. Please note, too, that this interpretation fits exactly with the other data—with the fact, especially, that before Dondi visited Rome, the Forzetta collection actually sold for enough to endow his fund for dowries.

Nor is this all. Art historians examining the great turning-point in art at the end of the fourteenth century have repeatedly sought to locate classical works of art that may have served as inspirations

The conventional answer is that the fashion-setters were the humanists such as the great late fourteenth-century chancellor of Florence, Ciccio Salutati, with their celebrations of the classical past. Yet, in fact, rarely about history and literature, rarely about history and literature, rarely about history and literature. There is good evidence, too, in the *De Origine* of a member of Ciccio Salutati's circle, Filippo Villani, that the humanists of this period actually believed that they had revived the art of "the ancients". Furthermore, just where did Ghisbert find his "Lysippian or Skopasian torso", and the sculptors of the Porta della Mandorla get their "classical" prototypes? Greatly, I would suggest, instead of answering both questions in one breath, as it were. Surely it is much more likely that fashion-setting classical art collections chiefly produced the "fashion" in art, and that, although the humanists had an obvious role, too—as such collections were also the natural sources of the sculptors' models and prototypes. To see the likelihood of this answer, merely ask yourself whether that turning-point picture of the early twentieth century, the "Démolisseurs d'Avignon", would or even could have been painted without the impact on Picasso of obscure pioneering collections of

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Woking, Surrey; From £5500

B.A.T. (UK & Export) Limited is a subsidiary of the world's largest manufacturer of tobacco products, exporting cigarettes world-wide.

As part of the new team responsible for setting up and developing a market analysis function for our world-wide export operations, we wish to appoint a Market Information Officer. Duties will include desk research, data collection and analysis, establishing information retrieval systems and disseminating required information. Acting as departmental librarian will also be involved. In addition to the routine aspects of the work there will be opportunity to discover and develop new information sources and to interpret information gathered in a creative way. It is anticipated that the scope of the role will develop significantly in the future.

Candidates, men or women, preferably educated to degree level and with some statistical training, must have experience of work involving the search for and use of published statistics and have a knowledge of E.D.P. techniques. Experience of export work would be an advantage.

Big company benefits include assistance with relocation expenses, where appropriate.

Please write with full details to Anna Dean,

Personnel Manager  
(Export Marketing),  
B.A.T. (UK & Export) Limited,  
Export House,  
Woking, Surrey GU21 1YB.



## Sotheby's

Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. have a vacancy for an experienced cataloguer of antiquarian books in European languages including Latin and Greek.

Good salary, depending on experience and qualifications, to be agreed; contributory pension scheme; three, rising to four weeks' holiday a year; luncheon vouchers; some travelling on business, mainly in this country; friendly atmosphere.

Please write, with curriculum vitae, to:

Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., Book Department,  
34-35 New Bond Street London W1A 2AA

Oxfordshire  
County Council

OXFORDSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARIES

PUBLIC SERVICE  
SUPPORT LIBRARIAN

Librarians' Scale, £2,511-£3,834 per annum, plus  
£312 per annum supplement

Applications for the above post are invited from suitably qualified Librarians. The person appointed will have an opportunity to gain varied experience in a wide range of duties, including participation in the work of the General Collections at the Central Library in Oxford and of the Adult Book Service Section at the County Library's Headquarters, Milton.

The minimum salary for a Chartered Librarian will be £3,420 per annum plus supplement, and for a person who has completed Part 2 of the Library Association Examinations or its equivalent £2,987 per annum plus supplement.

Removal and resettlement allowances up to £600 and separation allowances of £5 per week will be paid in appropriate cases.

A description of the post and an application form may be obtained from the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Milton, Oxford OX9 1QG. Closing date: 18th August, 1978.

CITY OF MANCHESTER  
CULTURAL SERVICES  
LIBRARIAN, LENDING SERVICES  
EAST MANCHESTER

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Librarians for the post of Librarian, Lending Services, East Manchester. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Applicants must be qualified Librarians with a minimum of two years' experience in a library service.

Salary scale £3,468-£4,148 p.a. inclusive (Consentation Scale).

Written applications (to be sent to the Principal Librarian, City of Manchester, The Quadrant, Manchester, M2 2PD, by 16 August, 1978.

Closing date: 16 August 1978. The City Council will operate a floating pay scale. Agreements under which all employees contribute 5% of salary to a pension fund will be required to become members of a recognised union.

## PUBLIC &amp; UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

## DEPUTY EDITOR

required for the Library Association Record, monthly professional journal serving 24,000 members and some institutional subscribers.

The ideal candidate will be experienced in news gathering, writing, sub-editing, layout and all stages of production of a litho printed journal, and have a knowledge of library service. Salary in the range £4,757 to £5,480 (including London weighting and latest pay settlement).

Further details from, and applications to, Editor at 7 Ridgmount Street, London WC1E 7AE. 01-636 7543.

## LIBRARIANS

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

CHARTERED (or qualified) Librarians are invited for the post of Librarian in the University of Birmingham. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

## THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

## PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANT

CHARTERED LIBRARIANS, advertising and publicity, are invited for the post of Professional Assistant in the Library Association. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

## CITY OF LONDON

## POLYTECHNIC

LIBRARY AND LEARNING  
RESOURCES SERVICE

## ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Assistant Librarian in the City of London Polytechnic. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

BORDERS REGIONAL  
COUNCIL

## BORDERS HEALTH BOARD

## LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Librarian in the Borders Health Board. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

## UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

## ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN-MEDICAL

Applications are invited for the post of Assistant Librarian-Medical in the University of Exeter. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

NORTH EAST LONDON  
POLYTECHNIC

## LIBRARY, West Ham Precinct

Applications are invited for the post of Librarian in the North East London Polytechnic. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

KYLE AND CARRICK  
DISTRICT LIBRARIES

## POST OF

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SERVICES  
LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Librarian in the Kyle and Carrick District Libraries. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

UNIVERSITY OF  
NOTTINGHAM

## LAW LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Law Librarian in the University of Nottingham. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

LIVERPOOL  
POLYTECHNIC

## LIBRARY SERVICE

## SENIOR LIBRARY ASSISTANT

Applications are invited for the post of Senior Library Assistant in the Liverpool Polytechnic. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

RICHMOND  
LIBRARIES  
DEPARTMENT

## ASSISTANT CATALOGUER

Applications are invited for the post of Assistant Cataloguer in the Richmond Libraries Department. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the library and will be involved in the development of the library service.

Closing date 16th August, 1978.

## CITY OF SALFORD

CULTURAL SERVICES  
DEPARTMENTSENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN/  
CHILDREN'S SERVICES

Scale £2,823-£4,148 p.a. inclusive of supplements

Qualification Bar at £3,681

Applications are invited for the above post to act as Children's Librarian in the Walkden District of the City.

Chartered Librarians registered but consideration will be given to applicants who have passed the final examination of the Library Association.

Post Reference: 2872/TLS.

This post is permanent, superannuable and subject to the satisfactory completion of a medical questionnaire. Commencing salary will reflect experience and qualifications.

Please write or telephone 061-763 3158 for an application form quoting post reference number to: Personnel Manager, Salford City Council, Salford M27 2BN, to whom they should be returned by 18th August, 1978.

Closing date 18th August 1978.

Applications should be sent to the Principal Librarian, City of Salford, The Quadrant, Salford, M27 2BN, by 18th August, 1978.

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